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ABSTRACT

Corporal punishment is usually thought of as a method of "discipline" used with young children. However, it may continue into adolescence. This study examined the extent to which corporal punishment was used with a large and nationally representative sample of adolescents. Corporal punishment was defined as the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury, for the purposes of correction or control of the child's behavior. Data were from interviews with the nationally representative sample of 6,002 American couples who participated in the National Family Violence Resurvey (Straus and Gelles, 1986; 1990). The interviews were conducted by telephone in the summer of 1985. Respondents with one or more minor children living at home were asked about their use of corporal punishment on one of those children. A later part of the same interview asked whether the respondents themselves had been physically punished when they were adolescents. Results indicated that half or more of adolescents were hit by their parents, and that when this happens it tends to happen frequently: a median of four times during a 12-month period, and a mean of six to eight times. Results also indicated that having two parents increases the probability of an adolescent being hit. The prevalence and chronicity of parents hitting adolescent children is consistent with attitude data which shows considerable support for parents hitting adolescents. (ABL)

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CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF ADOLESCENTS BY AMERICAN PARENTS *

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ABSTRACT

This study of a nationally representative sample of adolescents found that at least half were hit by their parents. For most this was not an isolated incident. These high rates are consistent with attitudes approving hitting adolescents. Differences by gender of parent and gender of child tend to follow presumed traditional patterns, but the rates were high for both fathers and mothers and sons and daughters. The percent of parents using corporal punishment was greatest near the middle of the SES distribution, but the frequency of hitting declined with increasing SES.

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Corporal punishment is usually thought of as a method of "discipline" used with young children. However, it may continue into adolescence. Bachman's study of tenth graders (1967) found that 61 percent had been slapped by their parents at least once. Studies by Steinmetz (1971, 1974) and Straus (1971) found that this pattern also applies to college students who completed questionnaires about their senior year in high school. In each of the three college student samples, about a quarter had been hit as high school seniors.

The purpose of this paper is to provide information on the extent to which corporal punishment was used with a large and nationally representative sample of adolescents. In addition, the paper provides exploratory data on certain aspects of the etiology of corporal punishment of adolescents. The etiological issues are gender -- whether adolescent daughters are hit as much as adolescent sons, and whether mothers hit as much as fathers; socioeconomic status differences in use of corporal punishment; and the extent to which use of corporal punishment of adolescents is supported by cultural norms. Although the paper is descriptive and exploratory, there are theoretical and methodological reasons why descriptive data on corporal punishment is important.

One theoretical issue for which the findings might be relevant concerns the causes of violence by youth. Many studies have shown that the more corporal punishment is used, the greater the probability of the child being physically violent (Straus, 1991; Kandel, 1991). Although it may be true that corporal punishment is linked to violence, if parents rarely hit adolescents, that link would not be relevant.

A related reason for investigating corporal punishment of teen aged youth is that one task of adolescence is to develop independence and an identity separate from parents. Corporal punishment may impede the processes of moral development, identity formation, and independence attainment (Erikson, 1950; 1959; Kohlberg, 1969; Piaget, 1965). Adolescents resent authoritarian approaches to solving disputes, and may also feel infantalized by a method of discipline normally used on small children.

The paper will also explore an important methodological issue -- the comparability of data obtained by interviewing parents (which we will call "contemporaneous data") as compared to data obtained by interviewing adults about corporal punishment they experienced as adolescents (which we will call "adult recall data"). Each method has certain limitations and advantages which will be discussed below.

DEFINITION AND TERMINOLOGY

There is no standard usage for the terms corporal punishment and physical punishment. For purposes of this paper corporal punishment is defined as the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury, for purposes of correction or control of the child's behavior. The most frequent forms are spanking, slapping, grabbing or shoving a child "roughly" (i.e. with more force than is needed to move the child), and hitting with certain traditionally acceptable objects such as a hair brush, belt, or paddle.

The operationalization of corporal punishment in this paper (see Methods section) excludes hitting with an object on the grounds that it poses a significant risk of causing an injury that needs medical treatment and therefore crosses the line from corporal punishment to physical abuse. This operationalization therefore differs from the laws of every state in the U.S. which give parents the right to hit a child with an object provided no serious injury results. It also differs from traditional cultural norms which sanction use of objects such as hair brushes, belts, and paddles. Excluding hitting with objects is based on the assumption that many people now regard hitting with such objects as physical "abuse" rather than corporal punishment.

Similar ambiguity applies to ordinary language terms such as "spanking" and "beating." In many poor and minority communities "beating" is a generic term for any corporal punishment. To some "spanking" means slapping a child on the buttocks (and traditionally, the bare buttocks). But for middle class Americans, it tends to be a generic term for slapping or hitting any part of the child. Probably the most frequent form of corporal punishment is slapping a child's hand for touching something. In this paper we use the terms "corporal punishment," "physical punishment," and "hitting" as synonyms.

METHODS

Sample

The data are from interviews with the nationally representative sample of 6,002 American couples who participated in the National Family Violence Resurvey (Straus and Gelles, 1986; 1990). The interviews were conducted by telephone in the summer of 1985 (for information regarding the validity of telephone interviews in this survey, see Straus and Gelles, 1986:472; Straus and Gelles, 1990, Appendix). To be eligible for inclusion, the respondent had to be 18 or older and either (1) presently married, (2) presently living as a man-woman couple, or (3) a single parent with a child under 18 living with the parent, including divorced or separated parents. The response rate was 84%.

Measures Of Corporal Punishment

Respondents with one or more minor children living at home were asked about their use of corporal punishment on one of those children (selected by a random process). We will refer to the data on respondent's current use of corporal punishment as contemporaneous data. A later part of the same interview asked whether the respondents themselves had been physically punished when they were adolescents. We will refer to this as adult recall data. The contemporaneous data refers to information provided by perpetrators and the adult recall data refers to information provided by victims.

Adult Recall Measure. These data were obtained by asking respondents "Thinking about when you yourself were a teenager, about how often would you say your mother or stepmother used corporal punishment, like slapping or hitting you? Think about the year in which this happened the most. Never, Once, Twice, 3-5 times, 6-10 times, 11-20 times, More than 20 times." This was followed by a parallel question asking about the corporal punishment the respondent experienced

at the hands of his or her father. Previous analyses found that the peak years for hitting adolescents are ages 13 and 14 (Wauchope and Straus, 1990). Since respondents were asked how much corporal punishment occurred in the year it happened the most, the adult recall data probably refers to ages 13 and 14. The N for the adult recall data is 5,452.

Limitations of the Adult Recall Data. Although data provided by victims are at least as important as data provided by parents, there are several limitations.*[1] In the present study, the data are based on recall of events that were often many years in the past. Accuracy may be compromised when persons are asked to recall what happened twenty-five years earlier, although there is some evidence that events that happened between the ages of 15 and 25 are recalled fairly accurately by older adults (Hyland and Ackerman, 1988). Another problem is the possibility of selective recall. This would occur if current psychological difficulties or problems lead some adults to remember more of the bad things about their childhoods, including corporal punishment. On the other hand, perhaps corporal punishment is so traumatic for some children that they repress memories of these incidents into adulthood.

Contemporaneous Measure. The "Minor Violence" scale of the Conflict Tactics Scales or CTS (Straus, 1979; 1990) was used to obtain information on use of corporal punishment by the respondents during the 12 months up to the interview. The items in the Minor Violence scale, such as slapping and spanking, were used as the measure of corporal punishment because all the acts in that index are legal in every state of the U.S. The CTS is described in detail in Straus (1979, 1990). To make the contemporaneous data in the paper as comparable as possible in age to the adult recall data, the contemporaneous analyses are based on the 380 cases who were 13 or 14 at the time of the interview.

Limitations Of The Contemporaneous Data . The contemporaneous data for this study (as in many others) are based on interviews with only one of the parents. Consequently, in research investigating the antecedents and effects of corporal punishment, the "no punishment" group inevitably includes some children who did experience corporal punishment, but by the parent who was not interviewed. Moreover, the contemporaneous data do not permit classification and comparison of families in which both parents hit adolescents, versus those which are "father only" and "mother only."

Another limitation of the contemporaneous data is that only a relatively small proportion of the sample had an adolescent living at home. This greatly reduces the sample size.

The contemporaneous data also underestimates the prevalence of corporal punishment for at least two reasons. First, there are many cases in which one parent hit and the other did not (see below). Second, the contemporaneous data refers to the 12 months immediately preceding the interview. A 14 year old referent child may have not been physically punished that year, but may have experienced a great deal of corporal punishment when he or she was thirteen. Third, the contemporaneous data may underestimate prevalence if hitting adolescents is less socially acceptable than hitting toddlers. If so, parents may be especially reluctant to tell an interviewer about corporal punishment of an adolescent.

The availability of both adult recall and contemporaneous data provides an important opportunity to examine the consistency of findings based on these two sources of information.

PREVALENCE AND CHRONICITY

Prevalence Rates

Despite the lengthy time between when the respondents were adolescents and when they were interviewed, almost half the adult recall sample (49.8%) reported having been corporally punished one or more times during a twelve month period in their adolescent years. The prevalence rate based on the contemporaneous data (46.3%) is very similar, despite the fact that the contemporaneous data refers to one parent only, whereas the adult recall data refers to both parents.

The rates just given are best thought of as "lower bound" estimates because some respondents can be assumed to have not disclosed the information to our interviewers and others may simply have forgotten. Thus, almost half of American children in early adolescence experience corporal punishment. A 50% prevalence rate seems astonishingly high for adolescents, but it is consistent with previous research (Bachman, 1967; Steinmetz, 1971; Straus, 1971).

The fact that such a large proportion of youth are hit by their parents is remarkable. It is likely that few Americans realize the extent of corporal punishment of adolescents, even though the above figures suggest that they themselves probably experienced it. Perhaps the lack of awareness occurs because of what Allport (1933) called "pluralistic ignorance," and Marks (1984) called "false uniqueness." Each person tends to think that their experience was unique and hence does not realize that what took place was actually very common. Or almost the opposite might be the explanation. Perhaps corporal punishment is such an everyday, taken-for-granted phenomenon that no one stops to think about it. Whatever the reason, lack of awareness that half of all adolescents experience corporal punishment probably also explains why this phenomenon has so rarely been investigated.

Chronicity

Spanking and slapping a child are well within the legal and, in the eyes of the public, morally correct level of corporal punishment (Straus, 1991). However, it can be done with such frequency that most contemporary Americans would consider it to be "abuse." There is no statutory limit and no public consensus on how much corporal punishment must occur before it is considered abuse. The threshold is probably high judging from the mean of 7.9 times per year estimated from the adult recall data, and 5.9 times per times per year estimated from the contemporaneous data.*[2] The median for both samples was four. For the reasons given in the Methods section, these figures should be regarded as minimum estimates. Another way of putting the findings is that, when adolescents are hit by their parents, it is typically not an isolated instance.

Aging Versus Cohort

One interpretation of the similarity between the adult recall sample and the contemporaneous data sample in rates of corporal punishment is that the use of corporal punishment on adolescents has not significantly declined in the years since the respondents themselves were adolescents.

Another interpretation is that the rates were previously greater, but have been brought into line with each other because older respondents remember fewer of these events. Analysis of the adult recall data by age of the respondents results in prevalence rates that are consistent with the latter interpretation because they show that the prevalence rates declines continuously with age, from 55.4% of respondents aged 18-19 to 40% for those 70 and over. The lower rate for those aged 70 and over is exactly the opposite of what would be expected on the basis of assuming that 70 or more years ago, parents tended to use more corporal punishment. Regardless of the reason for the relatively small decrease, it is remarkable that even after 70 years, 40% still remember being hit by their parents. Corporal punishment, when it occurs in adolescence, seems to be almost indelibly impressed in the minds of a large proportion of these respondents.

ETIOLOGY

There are many social and psychological factors that could influence whether corporal punishment will be used on adolescents. With the data available for this exploratory paper we were able to examine cultural norms, gender of parent and child, and socioeconomic status. There are many other possible etiologic variables which need to be examined, such as husband dominant family organization, parent and child employment, and single parent status.

Cultural Norms Supporting Corporal Punishment of Adolescents

At the macro-sociological level, use of corporal punishment on adolescents may be influenced by whether there are explicit or implicit cultural norms which encourage or prohibit it. One manifestation of cultural norms is the legal system. In the United States, every state gives parents the legal right to hit teenagers. Informal normative approval of corporal punishment of adolescents is harder to identify. There have been surveys which show that almost all Americans believe that corporal punishment is necessary under some circumstances (Straus, 1991). However, none of these surveys specified the age of the child and this approval may not extend to hitting adolescents. For this paper we used the data gathered by Moore and Straus (1987) on a representative sample of 914 New Hampshire parents. They were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement "Sometimes it's a good idea for parents to slap their teenage child who talks back to them." Thirty one percent agreed, 23% were neutral or "mildly disagreed" and only 46% strongly disagreed. Thus, 54% did not "strongly disagree" with slapping a teenage child. It seems that even in a state which has a low level of other types of violence such as assault, homicide and reported physical abuse of children, there is considerable support for parents hitting adolescents.

At the individual level, Straus (1991) found (not surprisingly), that the more a parent approved of hitting an adolescent who talked back, the greater the probability of actually doing so during the 12 months preceding the survey. Despite this, many parents who endorsed corporal punishment of adolescents did not do so. Some of this unexplained variance may be due to characteristics of the parent and the child, such as those examined below.

Gender of Parent and Child

Prevalence. Although the rate of corporal punishment recalled by daughters was remarkably high (44%), the rate for adolescent sons (58.2%) was even higher ($F=107.71$, $p < .001$). This finding indicates a tendency for American parents to follow what we presume is the traditional pattern of gender differences in child rearing -- that corporal punishment is more appropriate for use on sons than daughters.

(Figures 1 and 2 about here)

The left side of Figure 1 shows that in the two parent family part of the sample, sons were about equally likely to be hit by their father and their mother. However, the right side of Figure 1 shows that adolescent daughters were about a third more likely to be hit by their mother. Figure 2 gives the findings using the contemporaneous data, and although they are not statistically significant, they lead to the same conclusion (F [gender of child]$=1.50$, $p < .11$; F [gender of parent]$=2.42$, $p < .06$).*3

These findings indicate that during the adolescent years, the predominance of mothers as the main child care-giver and disciplinarian tends to be modified by the idea of "woman-to-woman" and "man-to-man" relationships between parents and their adolescence. However, it is also important to note that substantial proportions of mothers hit adolescent sons and fathers hit adolescent daughters. Thus, although there is a tendency toward presumed "traditional" gender role patterns they are not strongly manifested in the behavior of the parents in this sample. The predominant tendency, as will be shown below, was for both parents to use corporal punishment, regardless of the gender of the child.

(Figure 3 about here)

Consistency between Parents. The percentages in Figure 3 are based on the respondents in the adult recall sample who were physically punished during their adolescent years. Figure 3 can be read as showing that the glass is half full or half empty.*4 On the one hand, just over half of adolescent sons were hit by both parents, and 41% of the girls were also. On the other hand, Figure 3 also shows a remarkably high percentage of families in which one parent used corporal punishment and the other did not. For sons, when it was only one parent, it was almost equally likely to be the mother or the father who did the hitting. For daughters Figure 3 shows that when only one parent used corporal punishment, it was about twice as likely to be the mother. It seems that the main reason why adolescent daughters are hit less than adolescent sons is because fathers hit daughters less as they grow older.

The differences according to gender of the parent and child are surprisingly small when compared with the huge differences between men and women in violence outside the family. The minimal gender role difference in respect to corporal punishment is, however, consistent with the even more surprising (and controversial) finding that women tend to initiate physical attacks on husbands at about the same rate as husbands attack wives (Straus, 1993). Findings presented elsewhere suggest that the high rate of violence by parents against adolescent daughters, and the high rate at which mothers use corporal punishment on adolescent children, are part of explanation for the high rate of violence by wives on husbands (Straus, 1991: Figure 11).

(Table 1 about here)

Chronicity. The first row in Table 1 shows that mothers and fathers tended to use corporal punishment on adolescent sons and daughters about the same average number of times per year. This row also shows a similarity between the adult recall data (left side of the table) and the contemporaneous data (right side of the table) in the mean number of times that parents hit adolescents. At the same time there are differences worth noting. In the adult recall data, the lowest mean was for fathers hitting daughters, which is the same as was found for the prevalence data in Figures 1 through 3. We expected the most chronic hitting would be of sons by fathers, and that is what was found in the contemporaneous data. However, when chronicity is measured by asking adults to recall the year in which they were most often hit, Table 1 shows that the most chronic pattern is by mothers who used corporal punishment on adolescent sons.

The first row of Section B in Table 1 confirms the overall finding that when adolescents are hit, it is not usually an isolated instance. Except for fathers hitting daughters, the percentages in section B show that when parents hit a adolescent, from 70 to 90% did it more than once during the 12 months preceding the interview.The main exception is for hitting daughters by fathers, for whom the most typical pattern was "only" once. It is remarkable that both the adult recall and the contemporaneous data on fathers hitting adolescent daughters result in almost identical estimates -- just over 40% hit only once in the year covered by the study. The low chronicity of fathers hitting adolescent daughters is consistent with the relatively low prevalence rate for fathers hitting daughters. Thus, regardless of how it is measured, the lowest use of corporal punishment is on adolescent daughters by fathers.

Perhaps the most startling figures in Table 1 are the large percentage of both mothers and fathers who hit an adolescent son six or more times (the sum of the 3-5, 6-20, and 21+ times rows). It ranges from 25 to 45% depending on column of the table.

As high as these numbers are, they are even more likely than the prevalence data to be minimum estimates because it is more difficult to remember how many instances of a behavior occurred.

Chronicity of Corporal Punishment By Mothers. It is remarkable that, with a single exception, the first row of Table 1 shows mothers hit their adolescent children more often than did fathers. This pattern was found earlier by Wauchope and Straus (1990) who suggested that it reflects the vastly greater child care

responsibilities of mothers. However, for adolescent children, the number of hours mothers spend in the physical presence of the child may not be much greater than fathers. Consequently, the explanation of the greater frequency of hitting by mothers offered earlier probably needs to be modified somewhat. The modification is to add to the simple number of hours of physical exposure to a child a consideration of norms concerning which parent tends to have primary responsibility for the well being and training of the child. Just as the traditional American family pattern tends to put more of the responsibility for "keeping the family together" on wives than husbands, another part of this pattern may be greater maternal responsibility for "keeping children in line." If so, even during the adolescent years when they may not spend much more time with children than fathers, mothers would have more occasions in which they felt it necessary to use corporal punishment.

Socioeconomic Status

Bronfenbrenner (1958) found that lower class persons use more corporal punishment than those higher on the socioeconomic status (SES) ladder. However, Erlanger's review of this literature (1974) found only small and inconsistent differences. There are several possible reasons for these conflicting findings. One of them may be that the studies compare prevalence rates and ignore chronicity. Another reason may be comparing two groups, such as working class and middle class, rather than the SES as a continuum. The results in Figures 4 through 7 address these limitations by replicating the analysis for chronicity using a multiple indicator SES index as the independent variable.*5

(Figures 4 and 5 about here)

Prevalence By SES. Figure 4 shows the observed prevalence rates by SES and Figure 5 shows the same data transformed to a moving average (the mean of the adjacent observed data points) in order to smooth the curve. It can be seen that the relationship between prevalence of corporal punishment and socioeconomic status is curvilinear with the highest use of corporal punishment at the middle levels of SES. While this relationship is much clearer for the adult recall data, the contemporaneous data show a similar relationship, despite the lower reliability due to a small number of cases in each SES decile. Thus it appears that the middle class may actually have higher prevalence rates of corporal punishment of adolescents than either the lower or the upper class.

These findings may appear to contradict the results of previous studies, but that is not necessarily the case. Some of the studies showing no class difference might have divided at the median or some equivalent to compare the prevalence rates between higher and lower SES groups. If the relationship is in fact curvilinear, the two halves would show equal rates. Similarly, studies showing that low SES families are higher could have compared them to the upper fifth of the population, where our data show the lowest prevalence rates. Finally, the data in Figures 4 and 5 are for adolescents only, and it is possible that the relationship between SES and corporal punishment for adolescents is not the same as for younger children used in previous studies.

(Figures 6 and 7 about here)

Chronicity By SES. The findings on chronicity in Figures 6 and 7 show that the higher the SES, the less chronic the use of corporal punishment. So, while the percentage of lower SES parents hitting adolescent children is lower than in middle SES families, those that hit do it more often. This is an important difference for children. It might also explain why ethnographic studies find a class difference, whereas surveys which compare prevalence rates, do not. If parents hit weekly as compared to two or three times a year the probability of these actions being visible to observers is much greater.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Prevalence And Chronicity

This paper reports findings from two different methods of measuring the prevalence and chronicity of corporal punishment. Both methods show that half or more of adolescents are hit by their parents, and that when this happens, it tends to happen frequently: a median of four times during a twelve month period, and a mean of six to eight times.

Children living with both parents are usually thought of as having an advantage over children in single parent households. While that is correct in many ways (see Mednick, 1989, for a review of this issue) the results of this study show that having two parents increases the probability of an adolescent being hit. As shown in Figure 3, 48% of sons and 59% of daughters were hit by only one of the two parents. Thus, two parents may mean double jeopardy for adolescents in the United States. On the other hand, having two parents may mean that one parent acts as a buffer and intercedes on the child's behalf, thus preventing the other parent from using corporal punishment. Further research is needed to determine which process is at work here.

Etiology

The prevalence and chronicity of parents hitting adolescent children is consistent with attitude data which shows considerable support for parents hitting adolescents.

Boys tend to be hit more often than girls, and fathers tend to hit adolescent girls less than mothers. Despite that, almost half of the daughters were hit during a 12 month period.

It is widely believed that lower class parents use more corporal punishment but the research literature is inconsistent. The findings reported suggest that part of the reason for the inconsistency may be the use of a dichotomous measure of SES in previous studies and their failure to considered the chronicity of corporal punishment. The analyses reported in this paper using prevalence as the dependent variable, found a curvilinear relationship, with the highest prevalence rates among parents near the middle of the SES distribution. When chronicity was used as the dependent variable, we found that the higher the SES of the family, the lower the chronicity.

Implications

It seems clear that even children in their adolescence have a high risk of being physically assaulted by their parents. In fact, it is not unreasonable to suggest that for half of all American children, the only way they can escape that risk is to leave home for college or to establish their own household.

Almost no one thinks of these events as "assaults" because a crime is what the law says is a crime (Lincoln and Straus, 1985:12; Tappan, 1960) and both the common law and the statutory law of all the states of the US have what can be called a "parental exemption" from being charged with assault for physically attacking a child. Such exemptions are not unusual. The legal system treats families differently in a number of ways. Until recently, every US state also had a "marital exception" for rape (Finkelhor and Yllo, 1985). This means that a husband who physically forced his wife to have sex could not be charged with rape.

Although many states have eliminated the "marital exemption" for rape, no state has eliminated the parental exemption for assault. However, several other countries, led by Sweden, have now prohibited corporal punishment by parents (Haeuser, 1988). Nevertheless, some changes are occurring in the United States. For example, other categories of adults with responsibility for children (such as foster parents and craftsmen supervising apprentices) previously also had the right to use corporal punishment. Today, essentially the only type of person except a parent who can legally hit children is a teacher or other school official. Moreover, despite opposition from most teachers organizations (Hyman, 1990), this is changing rapidly and by 1990, 27 states had banned the use of corporal punishment in schools.

Despite these changes, the evidence presented in this paper suggests that corporal punishment remains a normal and taken-for-granted part of growing up for almost all American children. Indeed, almost all children defend the use of corporal punishment. However, neither the normality of corporal punishment nor its advocacy by its victims is evidence that it does no harm. We suggest that corporal punishment of adolescents is particularly likely to be harmful because, as existing evidence shows, it is associated with an increased probability of violence and other crime (Kandel, 1991; Straus, 1991), depression (Straus, 1993), and alienation and lowered achievement (Straus & Gimpel, 1992). Although not tested in this paper, we suspect that corporal punishment is also likely to interfere with the development of independence, and to humiliate, antagonize, and infantalize adolescents (Erikson, 1950; 1959; Kohlberg, 1969; Piaget, 1965).

NOTES

1. We could have asked the parent who was interviewed about corporal punishment administered by the other parent, and there would have been advantages in obtaining such data. However, we decided to focus on just the parent who was interviewed because of doubts about the validity of the data. The interviewed parent might not know about the extent and frequency of the other parent's use of corporal punishment and the other parent behaviors measured by the Conflict Tactics Scales (Reasoning and Verbal Aggression). In the light of this problem and the need to restrict the length of the interview, it seemed better to devote the interview time that an additional administration of the CTS would take to other needed information about the family.

2. The measure of chronicity was computed only for the part of the sample that used corporal punishment.

3. There is no bar in Figure 2 for "By Either" because the contemporaneous data is based on interviews with only one of the parents and refers to what he or she did in the previous 12 months.

4. The relationship between child's gender and gender of the parent who punishes is statistically significant (Chi-Square (df=1,2)=78.68, $p < .001$).

5. The socioeconomic status index was computed by factoring the following five items using the SPSS/PC principle components analysis: education of the wife and the husband, their occupational prestige scores, and the combined income of the couple. This resulted in one factor that explained 43% of the variance.

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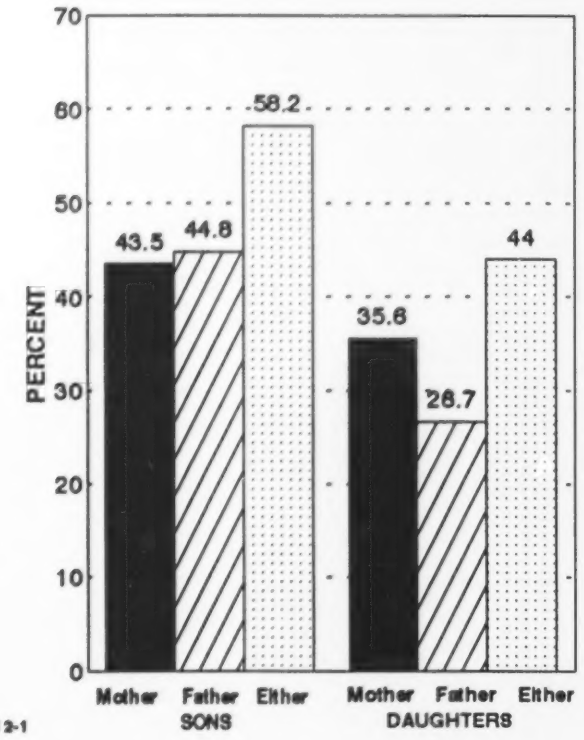
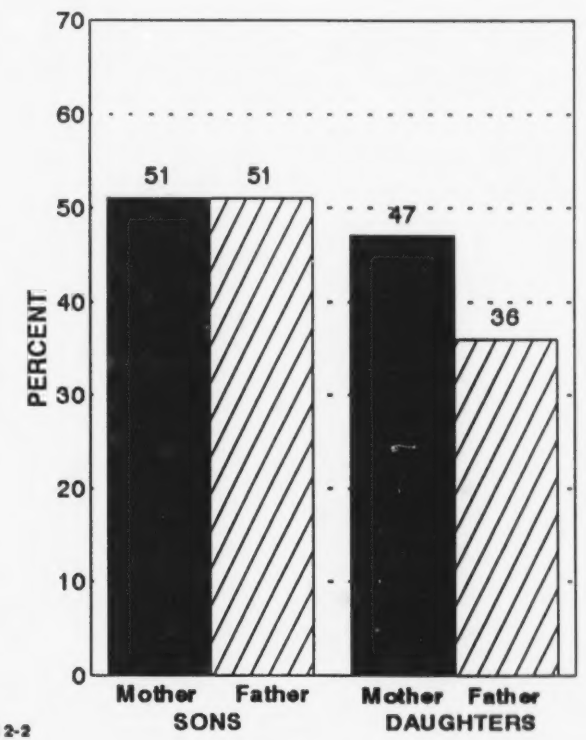
(CP\CP12\CP12.REF)

Fig 1. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF TEENS
BY GENDER OF CHILD AND PARENT
(ADULT RECALL DATA, N = 5700)



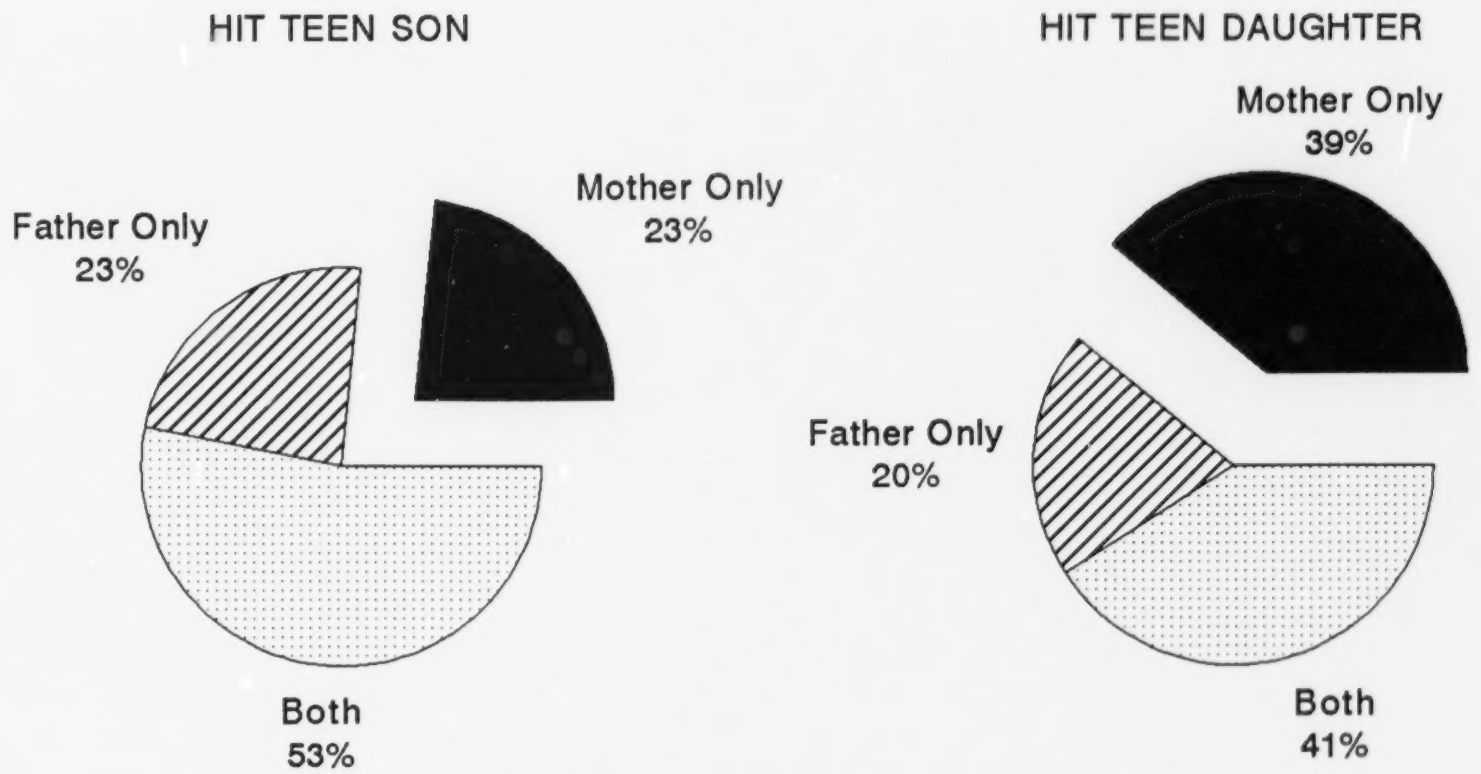
CP12-1

Fig 2. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF TEENS
BY GENDER OF CHILD AND PARENT
(CONTEMPORANEOUS DATA, N = 360)



CP12-2

Fig 3. CONSISTENCY BETWEEN PARENTS IN CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF TEEN CHILDREN (AS RECALLED BY ADULTS)

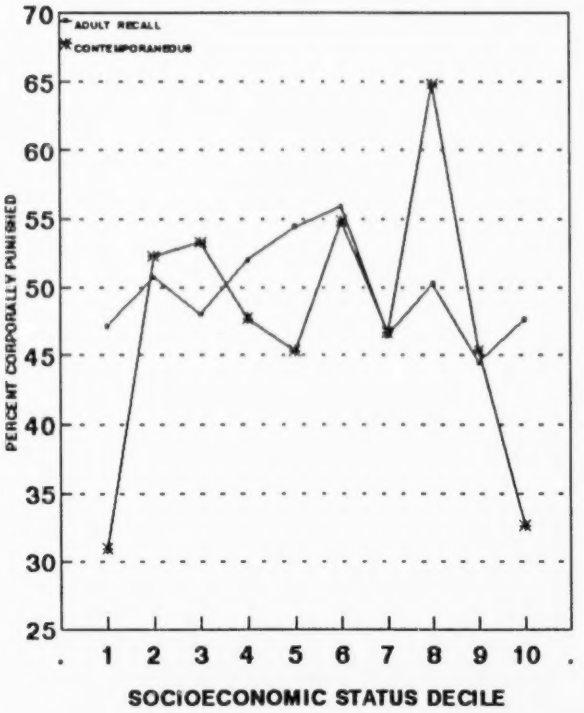


Chi-square for difference between sons and daughters = 78.682, p <.001

CP12F-3

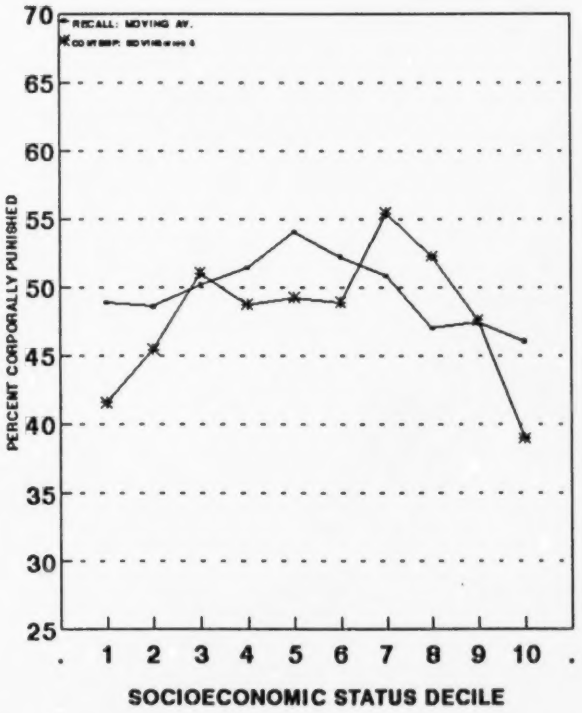
PREVALENCE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF TEENS, BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Figure 4



CP12-4

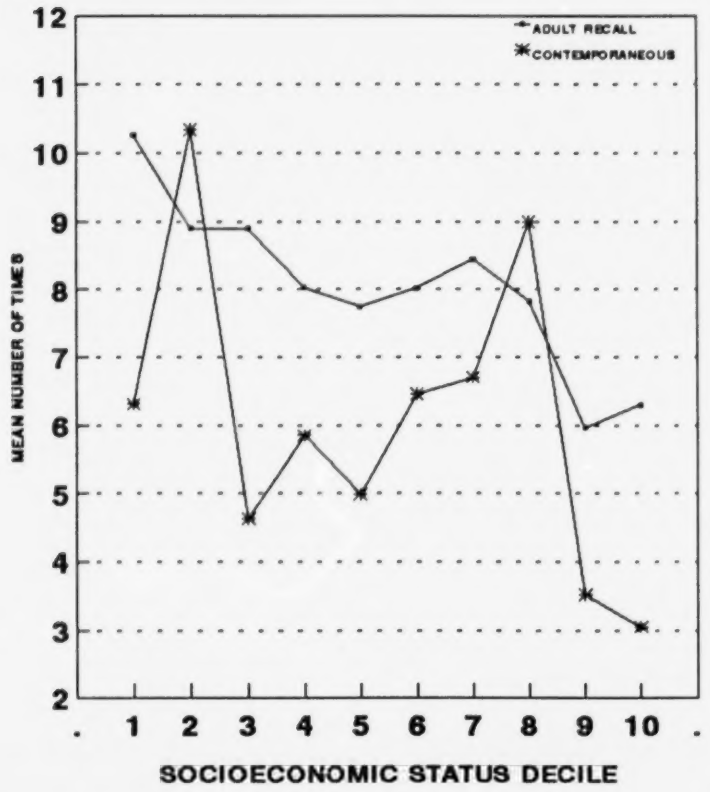
Figure 5



CP12-5

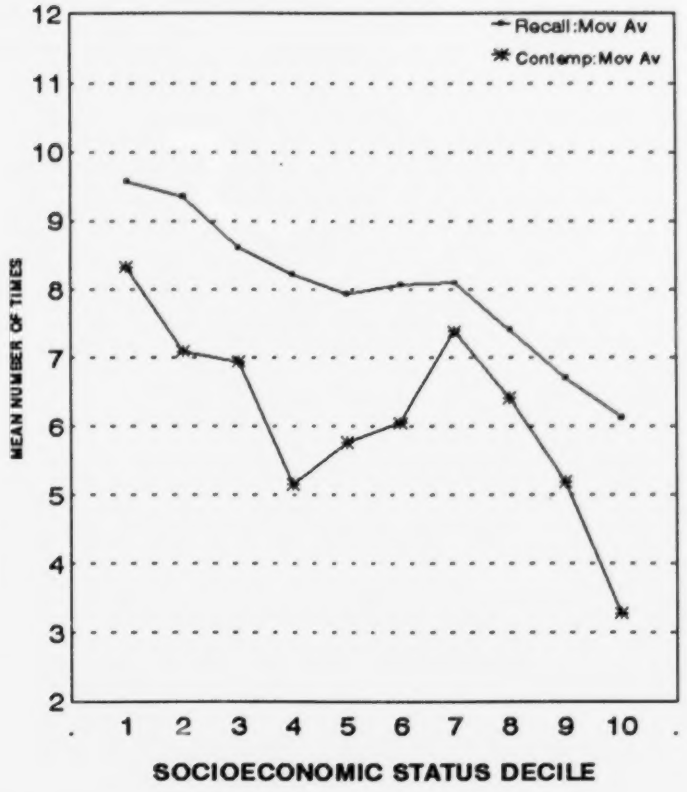
CHRONICITY OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT OF TEENS, BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Figure 6



CP12F-6

Figure 7



CP12-7A

Table 1. Chronicity of Corporal Punishment of Teens by Gender of Parent and Child

	Adult Recall Data						Contemporaneous Data			
	By Mother		By Father		By Either		By Mothers		By Fathers	
Frequency	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons
	A. Mean, Standard Deviation, and Median Number of Times									
Mean	5.62	6.45	4.55	5.36	6.57	8.06	5.56	5.75	4.44	8.55
S.D.	6.90	7.08	6.31	6.57	7.45	7.98	6.11	5.02	7.32	10.55
Median	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	4.00
	B. Percentage Distribution									
Once	28.8	20.6	41.5	30.9	23.2	17.3	22.4	10.7	40.2	10.6
Twice	22.5	19.3	21.6	20.0	19.8	15.8	19.9	21.3	34.8	30.7
3-5 Times	22.9	28.8	17.3	24.1	25.0	23.6	27.2	27.8	12.8	13.5
6-10 Times	10.6	12.9	8.1	10.9	13.5	17.8	16.9	31.9	0.00	23.7
11-20 Times	7.0	9.3	5.2	7.0	7.8	11.6	7.9	5.6	5.0	7.9
21+ Times	8.3	9.1	6.3	7.1	10.8	13.8	5.8	2.7	7.2	13.6
Total N	1200	1025	884	1035	1416	1298	52	55	21	43